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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 /059 R

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:RRGAMBLE:AE APPROVED BY S/S - MR. BRIDGES

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: XX, US

SUBJECT:CURRENT FOREIGN RELATIONS: ISSUE NO. 35, AB SEPTEMBER 1, 1976

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### AF - THE SECRETARY TO MEET WITH VORSTER (LOU)

THE SECRETARY IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN ZURICH, SWITZERLAND, FROM SEPTEMBER 4 TO 6. AS WITH THE PREVIOUS KISSINGER-VORSTER TALKS IN JUNE, THE DISCUSSIONS WILL COVER ALL FACETS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA'S PROBLEMS. THE TALKS ARE AN ELEMENT IN THE CONTINUING PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE US IS SEEKING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS FOR THE REGION. IF THE TALKS MAKE PROGRESS, OWARDS THAT GOAL, FURTHER STEPS MAY BE EXPECTED.

IN AN ADDRESS AUGUST 31 TO THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION OF A MAJOR BLACK AMERICAN ORGANIZATION, OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS, THE SECRETARY STATED THAT, THANKS TO AMERICAN EFFORTS, THERE ARE NOW CONDITIONS FOR SETTLING THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES WHICH DID NOT EXIST PREVIOUSLY AND MAY NEVER AGAIN. HE ADDED THAT "THOSE WHO HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN" SHOULD NOT "LET THE SECRET

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OPPORTUNITY SLIP AWAY BECAUSE OF INTERNAL DISAGREEMENTS." HE SAID THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE, AND URGED ALL CONCERNED TO RENEW THEIR EFFORTS TO OVERCOME THE FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES WHICH REMAIN IN THE PATH OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THE URGENT ISSUES OF THE AREA.

## AF - SALE OF F-5E'S TO KENYA (CONFIDENTIAL)

ON AUGUST 24 THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA SIGNED AN AGREEMENT TO PURCHASE FROM THE UNITED STATES 10 F-5E FIGHTER AIR-CRAFT AND TWO F-5F TRAINERS AT A COST OF \$67.5 MILLION. MARCH 1978 IS THE TENTATIVE DELIVERY DATE FOR THE FIRST AIRCRAFT. WE HOPE THAT MUCH OF THIS PURCHASE PRICE CAN BE MET BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT USING APPROPRIATED OR

PLANNED FY 1975-78 FOREIGN MILITARY SALES (FMS) CREDITS.

EVEN WHEN THE F-5'S ARE DELIVERED AND OPERATIONAL KENYA'S AIR FORCE STILL WILL BE FAR INFERIOR NUMERICALLY TO THAT OF UGANDA, SOMALIA AND TANZANIA, ALL OF WHICH FLY SOVIET FIGHTERS. WE EXPECT GREAT BRITAIN TO CONTINUE TO BE THE PRINCIPAL SUPPLIER OF CONVENTIONAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO KENYA, HOWEVER, WE UNDERTOOK TO SELL THESE AIRCRAFT BECAUSE OF ITS INABILITY TO DO SO.

IN PUBLIC SENATE TESTIMONY AUGUST 6 CONCERNING THE HORN OF AFRICA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELE NOTED KENYA'S BORDER DISPUTE WITH SOMALIA AND POINTED OUT THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE SIZE AND LEVEL OF EQUIPMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE UGANDA THREAT TO WESTERN KENYA WAS ALSO NOTED. HE OBSERVED THAT "THE ADDITION OF

MILITARY SALES FITS IN WELL WITH OUR PREVIOUS RELATION-SHIP TO KENYA. WE HAVE ALWAYS FOUND A COOPERATIVE RECEPTION IN THIS STABLE COUNTRY WHICH HAS ONE OF THE FEW FREE ECONOMIES IN THAT REGION AND IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THAT PART OF THE INDIAN OCEAN WHICH PERMITS US NAVAL VISITS."

AF - GUINEAN/US RELATIONS (CONFIDENTIAL)

THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT HAS ASSURED US THAT AFTER AUGUST SECRET

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IT WILL NO LONGER ALLOW SOVIET TU-95 OBSERVATION FLIGHTS FROM CONAKRY DIRECTED AT US FLEET MOVEMENTS IN THE ATLANTIC. IN RECOGNITION OF THESE ASSURANCES, WE HAVE AGREED TO AN URGENT GOG REQUEST FOR AN ADDITIONAL 10,000 TONS OF PL-480 TITLE I RICE TO SUPPLEMENT THE COMMODITIES WE AGREED TO PROVIDE IN APRIL.

WE HAVE ALSO VIGOROUSLY DENIED TO THE GOG ALLEGATIONS OF CIA COMPLICITY IN A COUP ATTEMPT CONTAINED IN A "CONFESSION" BROADCAST ON RADIO GUINEA BY FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE (AND FORMER OAU SECRETARY GENERAL) DIALLO TELLI. RADIO GUINEA SUBSEQUENTLY ANNOUNCED THAT WE HAD REFUTED TELLI'S ACCUSATIONS.

EUR - FRENCH PRESIDENT STRENGTHENS HIS CONTROL (CONF)

FRENCH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING'S CHOICE OF RAYMOND BARRE TO REPLACE GAULLIST LEADER JACQUES CHIRAC AS PRIME MINISTER IS A CALCULATED GAMBLE DESIGNED TO TIGHTEN GISCARD'S CONTROL OVER THE GOVERNMENT, PUSH FORWARD HIS PLANS FOR INSTITUTIONAL REFORM, AND OPEN UP THE GOVERNING COALITION TO THE CENTER-LEFT. BARRE IS A TECHNOCRAT WITH GOOD GAULLIST CONNECTIONS BUT WITHOUT ANY OVERT POLITICAL

AFFILIATION OR BACKING. HE HAS BEEN MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE SINCE JANUARY AND PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS AN OFFICIAL OF THE BANK OF FRANCE AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOR ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. BESIDES BEING AN AUTHORITY ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, HE IS CLOSE TO GISCARD PERSONALLY. GISCARD HAS EMPHASIZED THAT HIS TOP PRIORITY AND HIS REASON FOR NAMING BARRE TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP IS HIS DETERMINATION TO WAGE AN ALL-OUT FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION. HE HAS ALSO STATED UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S JOB IS TO CARRY OUT POLICY, NOT TO MAKE IT.

THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, LOUIS DE GUIRINGAUD, IS A CAREER DIPLOMAT WHO HAS SERVED AS FRANCE'S REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SINCE 1972. HE PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN AND GHANA. HE IS EXPECTED TO REFLECT FAITHFULLY WHATEVER POLICIES AND ATTITUDES GISCARD DIRECTS.

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GAULLIST "BARON" OLIVIER GUICHARD WAS BROUGHT INTO THE CABINET IN THE NUMBER TWO POSITION, MINISTER OF STATE AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE, REPORTEDLY WITH A MANDATE FROM GISCARD TO ACT AS THE POLITICAL COORDINATOR OF THE GOV-ERNING COALITION IN PREPARATION OF THE 1977 MUNICIPAL AND 1978 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. OTHERWISE THE CABINET REMAINS PRETTY MUCH AS IT WAS, WITH 14 HOLDOVERS FROM THE OLD GOVERNMENT AND ONLY FOUR NEW FACES. THE ALLOCATION OF MINISTRIES AMONG THE VARIOUS FACTIONS OF THE GOVERNING COALITION REMAINS STABLE, WITH FIVE GAULLISTS, FIVE TECHNOCRATS, FOUR INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS, AND -- IN THE ONLY CHANGE -- FOUR CENTRISTS. AMONG THE STATE SECRE-TARIES, HOWEVER, THE GAULLISTS DROPPED FROM 8 TO 4, ACCOUNTING FOR A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER IN THE OVERALL REDUCTION FROM 27 TO 18 SUCH POSITIONS IN THE NEW GOVERN-MENT

THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT INDICATES:

- -- 1) THAT THE GAULLISTS ARE ON BOARD FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST;
- -- 2) THAT BY STRENGTHENING THE CENTRIST AND TECHNOCRAT COLORATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, GISCARD HAS INDICATED AN OPENESS TO ELEMENTS FROM THE MODERATE LEFT, BUT HAS NOT AS YET SUCCEEDED IN ATTRACTING ANY:
- -- 3) THAT GISCARD HAS RETAINED HIS PERSONAL STAMP ON THE KEY AREAS OF FINANCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHILE REINFORCING HIS CONTROL OVER THE GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE.

INR - SOVIET EMIGRATION: A MID-YEAR UPDATE (CONFIDENTIAL/XGDS-1)

THE PATTERN OF EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION OVER THE PAST YEAR HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN RESPONSE TO CHANGING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS. WITH PROSPECTS DIM FOR A NEW US-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT THIS YEAR, THE FOCUS OF THE EMIGRATION DEBATE HAS ALSO SHIFTED: ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE TRADE-EMIGRATION SECRET

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LINKAGE, THEY APPARENTLY HAVE DECIDED TO PERMIT A STEADY, ALBEIT MINIMAL, LEVEL OF EMIGRATION THAT CAN BE ADJUSTED UPWARD IF AND WHEN THE QUESTION OF THE TRADE BILL ARISES AGAIN. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CONTINUE USING ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS TO RESTRICT THE FLOW.

THE PICTURE AT MID-YEAR WAS CHARACTERIZED BY:

- -- REVISION OF CERTAIN ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES GOVERNING APPLICATIONS FOR EMIGRATION;
- -- A STABILIZATION IN THE FLOW OF JEWISH EMIGRANTS AT ABOUT 1.100 A MONTH:
- -- A LARGER PROPORTION OF WELL-EDUCATED JEWS FROM URBAN CENTERS IN THE RSFSR AND THE UKRAINE RECEIVING PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL, AND A RESULTANT "DROP-OUT" PROBLEM:
- -- A MARKED SURGE IN THE NUMBER OF ARMENIANS RECEIVING PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO THE US; AND
- -- A STEADY GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF ETHNIC GERMANS ALLOWED TO JOIN FAMILY MEMBERS IN THE FRG.

NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS.

IO - TURKISH/GREEK DISPUTE IN THE AEGEAN (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON AUGUST 25 ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS A RESOLUTION COSPONSORED BY THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, ITALY, AND UNITED KINGDOM. THE RESOLUTION ASKED GREECE AND TURKEY:

- -- TO RESUME DIALOGUE TOWARD RESOLVING THEIR DIFFERENCES;
- -- TO CONTINUE TO REFRAIN FROM UNILATERAL ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE THE DIALOGUE: AND

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-- TO CONSIDER ALL APPROPRIATE FORUMS IN WHICH ELEMENTS IN THE DISPUTE MIGHT BE SETTLED.

ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS, AS WELL AS GREECE AND TURKEY, PRAISED THE US AND THE OTHER COSPONSORS FOR DILIGENTLY PURSUING THIS MODERATE COURSE OF ACTION.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE COUNCIL MEETING, GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL MET PRIVATELY IN NEW YORK. THEY AGREED TO MEET AGAIN IN SEPTEMBER TO CONTINUE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES AT STAKE IN THE AEGEAN. IN VIEW OF THEIR DIVERGENT APPROACHES TO THESE ISSUES, HOWEVER, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE ANY EARLY PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THEM. COMPLICATING MATTERS, THE TURKISH SHIP SISMIK SAILED TOWARD GREEK WATERS AGAIN ON SEPTEMBER 1 WITH A PLANNED VOYAGE LASTING UNTIL SEPTEMBER 25.

ARA - SOVIET PLANE PURCHASE MARS SHIFT IN PERU (CONF.)

PERU MAY BUY 36 SU-22 SOVIET FIGHTER BOMBERS - THE FIRST ACQUISITION OF SOVIET COMBAT AIRCRAFT BY A LATIN AMERICAN AIR FORCE OTHER THAN CUBA AND THE LARGEST SINGLE PURCHASE EVER CONCLUDED FROM ANY SOURCE BY ANY LATIN AMERICAN AIR FORCE. PURCHASE APPARENTLY HAD BEEN AGREED TO BEFORE THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT IN MID-JULY WHICH REPRESENTED A SHIFT OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION AWAY FROM THE LEFT.

THE PERUVIANS HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSED BY THE "PREMATURE" DISCLOSURE OF THE HUGE PURCHASE, PARTICULARLY AS IT MIGHT AFFECT THE CONSIDERATION OF BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS FINANCING FROM US AND OTHER PRIVATE BANKS WHICH PERU URGENTLY REQUIRES. TO BLUNT UNFAVORABLE SPECULATION ON GOP ARMS PURCHASE PLANS, THE PERUVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ANNOUNCED THAT ALL THAT PERU CONTEMPLATED WAS A "RENOVATION" OF THE PERUVIAN AIR FORCE: IT WAS INVITING BIDS FROM A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES (INCLUDING THE US) TO SUPPLY MODERN AIRCRAFT AT THE SOFTEST POSSIBLE TERMS. THIS MOVE - TOGETHER WITH PERUVIAN ASSURANCE TO THE BANKS THAT AIRCRAFT PURCHASE WOULD BE ON SUCH TERMS THAT THE EFFECT ON BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS WOULD BE MINIMAL - HAS PROVIDED BASIS FOR THE BANKS SECRET

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TO AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO EXTEND BALANCE-OF-PAYMENT FINANCING.

ON OTHER FRONTS, THE SHIFT IN THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION HAS BEEN MORE CONSTRUC, IVE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF US INTER-

ESTS. PROGRESS, ALBEIT HALTING, HAS BEEN MADE IN THE RESOLUTION OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT US INVESTMENT DISPUTES. THE GOVERNMENT IS EMBARKING ON A REVISION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND HAS TAKEN INITIAL STEPS TO IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT FOR PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT. THE GOP CONTINUES TO PURSUE ITS PREVIOUSLY DECLARED INTENTION TO FOCUS LESS ON THIRD WORLD ISSUES AND MORE ON RELATIONS WITH ITS LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS; IN THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN COLOMBO, THE PERFORMANCE OF PERU WAS MORE MODERATE (AND MODERATING) THAN IN THE PAST.

### ARA - MAJOR NEW EFFORT AGAINST COCAINE

PRESIDENT FORD HAS APPROVED AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO BOLIVIA OF UP TO 53 MILLION DOLLARS OVER FIVE YEARS TO TACKLE THE COCAINE PROBLEM AT ITS SOURCE, THE COCA PLANT. THIS DECISION SETS THE COURSE FOR AN UNTRIED, COMPREHENSIVE AND EXPENSIVE ATTEMPT TO KEEP COCA PLANTS FROM BEING USED TO MAKE COCAINE. PERU, THE OTHER MAJOR PRODUCER OF COCA, MAY BE OFFERED A SIMILAR PROGRAM. AID DEVELOPMENT FUNDS WOULD BE USED IN THE LATER YEARS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE NARCOTICS EFFORT.

THE APPROACH IS TO TRY TO FIND CROPS FOR FARMERS TO GROW INSTEAD OF COCA AND TO COMPEL THEM TO ACCEPT CROP SUBSTITUTION BY STRICT CONTROLS, VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED. THESE MEASURES WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY STEPPED UP POLICE ACTION AGAINST TRAFFICKERS.

IH DEVELOPING THE PROGRAMS WE PLAN TO PROCEED IN STAGES TO TEST FEASIBILITY BEFORE MAKING MAJOR EXPENDITURES. STILL THE RISK OF FAILURE IS OBVIOUS; THE SKEPTICS ARE NUMEROUS. (OMB OPPOSED THE STATE/AID REQUEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.)

DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES, WE SEE THIS APPROACH AS OUR SECRET

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BEST HOPE OF STEMMING THE RAPID RISE IN COCAINE ABUSE IN THE U.S. WE KNOW LAW ENFORCEMENT AGAINST TRAFFICKERS, ALONE, CAN STOP NO MORE THAN A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE COCAINE ENTERING THE U.S. IT MUST BE DEALT WITH AT THE SOURCE WHERE COCA PLANT CULTIVATION IS MULTIPLYING RAPIDLY TO SUPPLY THE SKYROCKETING DEMAND FOR THIS DRUG.

NEA - KUWAIT ABANDONS DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS (SECRET)

IN A SURPRISE MOVE ON AUGUST 30, THE AMIR OF KUWAIT DISSOLVED THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ENDING FOURTEEN YEARS OF DEMOCRACY, ANNOUNCED THE RESIGNATION OF THE CABINET, A MUZZLING OF KUWAIT'S FREE PRESS, AND SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS REQUIRING PROMPT NEW ELECTIONS IF THE

ASSEMBLY IS DISSOLVED. A COMMITTEE IS TO BE NAMED TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION AND A NEW GOVERNMENT IS TO BE FORMED BY THE CROWN PRINCE/PRIME MINISTER.

THE AMIR'S DECISION WAS MADE AFTER MONTHS OF EXASPERATION IN ATTEMPTING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH TWO INCREASINGLY FACTIOUS ELEMENTS OF KUWAITI POLITICAL LIFE:

- -- THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH WAS CHARGED BY THE DISSOLUTION DECREE WITH HAVING "EXPLOITED DEMOCRACY AND FROZEN MOST LEGISLATION IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PRIVATE GAIN,"
- -- AND THE KUWAITI FREE PRESS (OWNED BY KUWAITI FAMILIES BUT EDITORIALLY UNDER PALESTINIAN DOMINATION), WHICH HAD BECOME FERTILE GROUND FOR THE LIBYANS, IRAQIS, AND OTHER RADICALS.

THE RULING SABAH FAMILY APPARENTLY HAD COME TO FEAR THAT IT WAS DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO LOSING CONTROL OF EVENTS WITH-IN THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY AS THE SITUATION IN LEBANON DETERIORATED. THERE WAS CONCERN THAT THE INCREASED TENSIONS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS AND THE WEAKENING PALESTINIAN POSITION IN LEBANON WOULD EXACERBATE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RULERS AND KUWAIT'S LARGE PALESTINIAN MINORITY OF 270,000-ROUGHLY ONE-QUARTER OF THE POPULATION. THE RULING FAMILY DECIDED TO TAKE PREVENTIVE ACTION, AND SECRET

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HAS, IN EFFECT, CLEARED THE BOARDS TO BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE STRONG SECURITY MEASURES. IT HAS PUT ON NOTICE THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY THAT ANY TROUBLEMAKER WILL BE SUMMARILY DEALT WITH BY EXPULSION WITHOUT RECOURSE TO JUDICIAL REVIEW.

WHILE THE KUWAITI LEADERSHIP PROBABLY HAS SUCCEEDED IN ASSURING ITSELF SOME ADDITIONAL SECURITY OVER THE SHORT TERM, IT COULD LAY THE SEEDS FOR INSTABILITY IN THE LONGER TERM. BECAUSE THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY IS SO LARGE AND SO ALL-PERVASIVE, NATIVE KUWAITIS ESSENTIALLY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO FIND SOME MODUS VIVENDI WITH IT. BUT IF THE AMIR'S ACTION IS VIEWED BY THE PALESTINIANS AS A PRELUDE TO AN OVERALL CRACK-DOWN ON THEM, AND A RESTRICTION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY ENJOYED IN KUWAIT.

IT COULD LEAD TO A SIGNIFICANT BREAKDOWN IN KUWAITI-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS.

THE DEMISE OF THE MAJOR INSTITUTION ALLOWING THE KUWAITI CITIZENRY A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT IS ALSO A RETROGRADE STEP. THE RESULTS OF KUWAIT'S LARGE ALLOCATIONS OF ITS WEALTH TO EDUCATION HAS GIVEN IT ONE OF THE HIGHEST

LITERACY RATES IN THE ARAB WORLD AND A STRONG EDUCATED ELITE DEMANDING AN EVER-INCREASING ROLE IN GOVERNMENT. UNLESS THE RULING FAMILY MOVES QUICKLY TO RESTORE A REPRESENTATIVE-TYPE INSTITUTION FOR POPULAR EXPRESSION, IT MAY ALSO UNDERCUT THE SUPPORT OF ITS OWN NATIVE CITIZENRY OVER THE LONG TERM.

PA - STATEMENTS BY THE SECRETARY (UNCLASSIFIED)

CHALLENGES OF AFRICA - SPEECH BEFORE THE OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS, PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 31. ROBINSON

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# Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z Capture Date: 16 SEP 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: AEGEAN Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 02 SEP 1976 Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ultricre
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE 200000

Document Number: 1976STATE200000
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/S-O:RRGAMBLE:AE

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: 11652 GDS Errors: n/a Film Number: D760333-0688

From: STATE Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197609108/baaaeptq.tel

Line Count: 447
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM

Office: ORIGIN SS

**Original Classification: SECRET** Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 9

Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET **Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY** Reference: n/a Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: ullricre

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 30 MAR 2004

**Review Event:** 

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <03 AUG 2004 by ullricre>

**Review Markings:** 

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MÁY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:** Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: FOREIGN RELATIONS: ISSUE NO. 35.

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, SREF, PGOV, SNAR, PLOS, PINS, XX, US, SF, KE, UR, PE, KU To: ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

**DHAHRAN** JERUSALEM **NAPLES** RIO DE JANEIRO SAO PAULO

SINAI
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